

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE COLLEGE
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GENERAL PERROOTS, ADMIRAL ROOP, DOCTOR SCOTT, COLLEAGUES,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I AM HONORED TO HAVE BEEN CHOSEN AS YOUR COMMENCEMENT
SPEAKER. GIVEN SOME OF YOUR PREVIOUS DISTINGUISHED SPEAKERS,
INCLUDING GENERAL HERRES LAST YEAR, THIS IS A SINGULAR HONOR
AND A DAUNTING CHALLENGE. I THOUGHT A GOOD DEAL ABOUT WHAT I
SHOULD SAY TODAY SINCE THIS IS NOT THE USUAL COMMENCEMENT
AUDIENCE. UNLIKE OTHER COMMENCEMENT SPEAKERS, IT WOULD HARDLY
BE APPROPRIATE FOR ME, NOW THAT YOU ARE GRADUATING, TO
ENCOURAGE YOU TO LEAVE THE INSTITUTION AND GO MAKE MONEY. NOR
IS IT PARTICULARLY INSPIRING TO ASK YOU TO STAY HERE AND FOREGO
THE TEMPTATIONS OF LIFE IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR.

AS THIS IS A COMMENCEMENT AND AS WE ALSO CONTEMPLATE THE
CLOSE OF ONE ADMINISTRATION AND ADVENT OF ANOTHER, I THINK THE
MOST APPROPRIATE TOPIC TO ADDRESS IN THESE FEW MINUTES IS THE
FUTURE OF AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE. NOW, SOARING FLIGHTS OF

RHETORIC BACKED BY ANTIPHONAL CHOIRS OF PRAISE ARE NOT OUR STYLE -- YOURS OR MINE. IN OUR BUSINESS WE DEAL IN HARD REALITY. THEREFORE, LET ME SIMPLY REVIEW FOR YOU BRIEFLY THE TRENDS THAT I BELIEVE WILL DOMINATE AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE THROUGH THE REMAINDER OF THIS CENTURY, THE PERIOD WHEN YOU, AS GRADUATES OF THE DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE COLLEGE, WILL ATTAIN SENIOR GRADES AND POSITIONS AND ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF US INTELLIGENCE.

FIRST, OUR MARGIN FOR ERROR WILL STEADILY SHRINK. WHETHER ESTIMATING SOVIET STRATEGIC FORCES, WARNING OF TERRORISM, HELPING TO GUIDE ANTI-NARCOTICS CRUSADES, OR ADDRESSING A MULTITUDE OF OTHER PROBLEMS, A HIGHER DEGREE OF ACCURACY AND TIMELINESS WILL BE EXPECTED OF US AND WILL BE CRITICAL TO THE SUCCESS OF US POLICY IF NOT OUR NATIONAL SURVIVAL. AN ERROR MARGIN OF 15-20% IN ESTIMATING SOVIET STRATEGIC WARHEADS MAY BE TOLERABLE IN AN ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH THERE ARE MORE THAN 10,000 OR 12,000 WARHEADS, BUT IN AN ARMS CONTROL ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH THAT NUMBER IS RADICALLY REDUCED, SUCH MARGINS OF ERROR ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE AND PUT THE NATION IN PERIL. A WARNING OF A TERRORIST ATTACK RECEIVED TOO LATE IS USELESS. TRACKING INFORMATION ON NARCOTICS TRAFFICKERS OR TERRORISTS, REACHING LAW ENFORCEMENT AND OTHER AUTHORITIES TOO SLOWLY, SPELLS FAILURE. OUR ACCURACY AND THE SPEED WITH WHICH WE DELIVER INFORMATION MUST DRAMATICALLY IMPROVE IN THE YEARS AHEAD.

SECOND, AND RELATEDLY, WE MUST REVOLUTIONIZE THE DISSEMINATION OF INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION. WE SPEND BILLIONS ON NEAR REAL TIME COLLECTION SYSTEMS, COMPUTERS, WORD PROCESSORS SO THAT WE RECEIVE IN WASHINGTON INFORMATION FROM THE FARTHEST CORNERS OF THE WORLD IN SECONDS. AND WHAT DO WE DO WITH IT? WE WAIT UNTIL THE NEXT MORNING AND DELIVER IT BY AUTOMOBILE OR TRUCK TO THE RECIPIENT. WE MUST BEGIN MOVING TOWARD THE ELECTRONIC DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION AND ANALYSIS DIRECTLY TO THE POLICYMAKERS' DESK, PROVIDING NOT ONLY GENUINELY NEAR REAL TIME INTELLIGENCE SUPPORT BUT ALSO PROVIDING FOR AN INTERACTION BETWEEN THE RECIPIENT OF THE INFORMATION AND THE PROVIDERS AT THE OTHER END OF THE WIRE. SPACE AGE COLLECTION AND HORSE AND BUGGY DISSEMINATION CAN NO LONGER BE TOLERATED.

THIRD, WE ARE GOING TO HAVE GROWING DIFFICULTY OBTAINING NECESSARY INFORMATION. THE SOVIETS ARE DEVOTING EVER MORE EFFORT TO DENYING US INFORMATION ON WEAPONS DEVELOPMENTS, TESTING AND DEPLOYMENTS. THEY ARE RELYING INCREASINGLY ON CAMOUFLAGE, CONCEALMENT AND DECEPTION. WE CONFRONT THE PARADOX THAT AT A TIME WHEN MORE AND MORE DATA IS EMERGING BECAUSE OF CURRENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOVIET UNION, TRADITIONAL FORMS OF INFORMATION, FOR EXAMPLE ON THE SOVIET ECONOMY, ARE BECOMING EITHER LESS RELIABLE OR LESS AVAILABLE. WE ARE SPENDING MORE JUST TO STAY AT THE SAME LEVEL OF KNOWLEDGE WE HAVE HAD IN RECENT YEARS -- AND IN SOME CASES, WE ARE FALLING

BEHIND. THIS PROBLEM IS WORST IN THE SOVIET UNION BUT, UNHAPPILY, THE LESSONS ALSO ARE BEING LEARNED BY A GROWING NUMBER OF NATIONS ON HOW TO AVOID OUR LEARNING OF THEIR ACTIVITIES.

FOURTH, IN THE FUTURE, AS IN RECENT YEARS, WE CONFRONT A GROWING DIVERSITY OF SUBJECTS WE ARE ASKED TO ADDRESS AND A GROWING DIVERSITY OF USERS. FROM SOVIET STRATEGIC WEAPONS DEVELOPMENTS TO INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS, FROM TERRORISM TO NARCOTICS, FROM PORTENTS OF INSTABILITY IN THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES TO TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER, AND LITERALLY SCORES OF OTHER ISSUES, POLICYMAKERS AND CONGRESS INCREASINGLY ARE TURNING TO THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY FOR INFORMATION AND ANSWERS. AND WHERE WE ONCE SUPPORTED JUST THE PENTAGON OR STATE DEPARTMENT OR THE WHITE HOUSE, WE NOW COUNT AMONG OUR USERS THE DEPARTMENTS OF AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, TREASURY AND MANY OTHERS. MANY OF THEM HAVE NEITHER A REALISTIC APPRECIATION FOR WHAT WE CAN AND CANNOT DO OR FOR THE SENSITIVITY AND FRAGILITY OF OUR INFORMATION.

FIFTH, WE ARE CONFRONTING INCREASINGLY THE USE OF OUR INTELLIGENCE BY ADMINISTRATIONS BOTH TO PROVE TO OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS THE RECTITUDE OR EFFICACY OF US POLICY AND TO INFORM AND PERSUADE THE AMERICAN PUBLIC. AND NO MATTER HOW MUCH INFORMATION WE PROVIDE ON ANY GIVEN SUBJECT, IT ONLY WHETS THE APPETITE. WE FACE THE TWIN RISKS OF POLITICAL ABUSE OF OUR

INFORMATION AND COMPROMISE OF SENSITIVE SOURCES AS WE BECOME A UNIQUELY RELIABLE AND TRUSTWORTHY SOURCE OF INFORMATION FOR AUDIENCES FAR BEYOND OUR POLICY LEADERS.

SIXTH, WE FACE A PRESENT AND A FUTURE IN WHICH INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION IS INCREASINGLY CENTRAL TO THE CONDUCT OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. AS THE RECENT RATIFICATION DEBATE OVER THE INF TREATY DEMONSTRATED, WITHOUT ADEQUATE INTELLIGENCE FOR MONITORING SOVIET COMPLIANCE, ARMS CONTROL IS POLITICALLY UNATTAINABLE. WITHOUT BOTH STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL INTELLIGENCE, SUCCESS IN IMPEDING TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER TO THE SOVIET UNION BECOMES IMPOSSIBLE. WITHOUT OUR INFORMATION AND ANALYSIS, WARNING OF TERRORIST ACTS AND THE INFORMATION REQUIRED TO DISRUPT TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS IS NOT TO BE FOUND. THIS GROWING DEPENDENCE ON INTELLIGENCE IS TRUE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST DRUG DEALERS AND A HOST OF OTHER NON-TRADITIONAL THREATS TO THIS COUNTRY AND ITS WELL BEING. MORE AND MORE, THE POLICY COMMUNITY AND THE CONGRESS ARE FORCED TO TURN, EARLY OR LATE, TO INTELLIGENCE AS CRITICAL FOR THE FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICY. AND I AM CONFIDENT THAT THIS WILL CONTINUE TO BE TRUE REGARDLESS WHO IS ELECTED IN NOVEMBER.

SEVENTH, AFTER A PERIOD OF LARGE SCALE GROWTH THAT BASICALLY RETURNED US TO WHERE WE WERE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 1970S IN TERMS OF RESOURCES, WE NOW FACE A CRISIS PRODUCED BY

AN EXPLOSIVELY EXPANDING NUMBER OF REQUIREMENTS IN A PERIOD OF SHRINKING DOLLARS. SOME IN CONGRESS -- AS A DECADE AGO -- ARE TAKING A LEADING ROLE IN TRYING TO FIND A WAY TO BE HELPFUL IN OVERCOMING THIS CRISIS. BUT ABSENT NEW RESOURCES, AT SOME POINT IN THE NEAR FUTURE, THE SENIOR MANAGERS OF US INTELLIGENCE WILL BE CONFRONTED WITH THE CHOICE OF EITHER REDUCING QUALITY OR TELLING THE POLICY COMMUNITY THERE SIMPLY ARE ISSUES WE NO LONGER HAVE THE RESOURCES TO TACKLE. WE CANNOT REPEAT THE EXPERIENCE OF THE 1970S IN CRIPPLING OUR CAPABILITIES OR THE QUALITY OF OUR WORK ACROSS THE BOARD.

EIGHTH, WE WILL FACE A GROWING PROBLEM IN RECRUITING AND RETAINING THE SKILLED CADRE OF ENGINEERS, ANALYSTS AND OPERATORS THAT WE REQUIRE TO MEET OUR NEEDS. IT IS A SAD REFLECTION THAT A SUBSTANTIAL PROPORTION OF APPLICANTS FAIL TO MEET EITHER OUR INTELLECTUAL OR SECURITY REQUIREMENTS. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE ALL FACE A CRISIS IN THE DEARTH OF PEOPLE TRAINED IN FOREIGN LANGUAGES. ALSO, IT IS A SAD FACT THAT WORKING FOR THE GOVERNMENT IS STEADILY BECOMING A LESS ATTRACTIVE CAREER NOT JUST BECAUSE WE ARE BECOMING LESS COMPETITIVE IN PAY AND BENEFITS BUT BECAUSE OF DIMINISHING REGARD ON THE OUTSIDE FOR PEOPLE IN PUBLIC SERVICE. THESE TRENDS, TAKEN TOGETHER, WILL MAKE RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION A PROBLEM.

NINTH, WE ARE SEEING A CONTINUING REVOLUTION IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTELLIGENCE AND THE CONGRESS. I BELIEVE THIS IS HEALTHY. DESPITE CONSIDERABLE CRITICISM OF US INTELLIGENCE FROM THE CONGRESS, THE LEGISLATURE HAS BEEN ENORMOUSLY SUPPORTIVE OF ADDITIONAL RESOURCES FOR INTELLIGENCE OVER THE PAST TEN YEARS. AS I NOTED A MOMENT AGO, THE INITIATIVE TO TRY TO REMEDY OUR CURRENT DIFFICULTIES IS COMING FROM THE CONGRESS. FOR THE FIRST TIME, DUE TO THE NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WHO HAVE SERVED ON OUR INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEES AND UNDERSTAND OUR WORK, INTELLIGENCE QUIETLY HAS ACQUIRED A POWERFUL CONSTITUENCY THAT WHILE CRITICAL ON SPECIFICS IS GENERALLY SUPPORTIVE AND TRIES TO BE HELPFUL IN IMPROVING WHAT WE DO AND THE TOOLS WE HAVE. NOW, THE PASSAGE OF ENORMOUS QUANTITIES OF INFORMATION BY INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES TO THE CONGRESS HAS CREATED TREMENDOUS AWKWARDNESS IN OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE POLICY DEPARTMENTS. THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE CONGRESS FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS OFTEN IS FRACTIOUS. BUT CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT IS HERE TO STAY AND, IN MY JUDGMENT, BRINGS WITH IT A HERETOFORE ABSENT LEGITIMACY AND BROAD BASE OF SUPPORT FOR OUR WORK THAT WE MUST HOPE WILL GIVE THE AMERICAN PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE VALUE OF WHAT WE DO.

TENTH, AND FINALLY, ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT TRENDS I SEE BOTH NOW AND FOR THE FUTURE IS THE UNIQUE ROLE INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES ARE PLAYING IN LOOKING TO THE FUTURE, IN LOOKING OUT

FIVE OR TEN YEARS OR EVEN INTO THE 21ST CENTURY, IN TRYING TO IDENTIFY PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES THAT WILL PRESENT THEMSELVES TO THE UNITED STATES AND HOPEFULLY IN TIME THAT ACTION CAN BE TAKEN BEFORE CRISIS OCCURS. WHETHER ECONOMIC TRENDS, THE AVAILABILITY OF FOOD OR ENERGY, DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOVIET UNION, THE AIDS PANDEMIC OR A HOST OF OTHER ISSUES, OR SIMPLY IN GATHERING AND STORING TACTICALLY USEFUL INFORMATION, WE INCREASINGLY FIND THAT INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATIONS ARE THE ONLY ONES IN GOVERNMENT "SCOUTING THE FUTURE." IT IS BY SUCH WORK THAT WE CAN DIMINISH FEARS AND MISCALCULATIONS BORN OF AN OTHERWISE UNFATHOMABLE FUTURE. WHILE THE WORK IS REMARKABLE, THE REAL CHALLENGE IS IN GETTING POLICYMAKERS DRIVEN BY DAY TO DAY CONCERNS TO PAY ATTENTION.

AS WE LOOK TO THE FUTURE AND THE ROLE OF AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE IN IT, I CANNOT HELP BUT REFLECT THAT THOSE OF US IN THIS BUSINESS, IN MANY RESPECTS, HAVE JOINED A PRIESTHOOD; APART FROM VOWS OF POVERTY AND SILENCE, LIKE PRIESTS, YOU HAVE DEDICATED YOURSELVES TO A LIFE OF SERVICE AND SACRIFICE FOR A HIGHER CALLING -- A CALLING DEDICATED ABOVE ALL TO KNOWLEDGE AND THE SEARCH FOR TRUTH. AS CHURCHILL SAID IN 1915, IN WORDS THAT GO TO THE HEART OF OUR WORK, "THE TRUTH IS INCONTROVERTIBLE. PANIC MAY RESENT IT; IGNORANCE MAY DERIDE IT; MALICE MAY DESTROY IT; BUT THERE IT IS." INDEED, THERE IT IS -- WITHOUT TRUTH, WITHOUT INTEGRITY OUR WORK IS FATALLY FLAWED. THESE VALUES ARE THE FOUNDATION FOR ALL WE DO.

LET ME CLOSE BY ASKING YOU TO PONDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF INTELLIGENCE WORK.

- MANY SERVE IN INHOSPITABLE CLIMATES AND DANGEROUS PLACES, SOME OF THEM OUTSIDE OF WASHINGTON.
- ALL WORK EXTRAORDINARY HOURS UNDER ENORMOUS PRESSURE AND STRESS WHETHER IN WASHINGTON, AT MILITARY BASES OR OVERSEAS.
- THERE ARE MANY DIFFICULTIES FOR OUR OFFICERS AND THEIR FAMILIES. OUR PEOPLE MAKE MANY SACRIFICES. MANY HOLIDAYS, FAMILY GATHERINGS, AND ANNIVERSARIES FIND OUR PEOPLE IN THE OFFICE, IN DISTANT PLACES, OR, TOO OFTEN, GONE FOREVER. AND, PERHAPS HARDEST OF ALL, WE ALMOST NEVER ARE ABLE TO EXPLAIN WHY.
- THE NEEDS OF THE SERVICE ALWAYS COME FIRST.
- YOUR SUCCESSES ARE UNHERALDED AND WE ARE SUBJECT TO CONSTANT AND PUBLIC CRITICISM. FOR THE MONDAY MORNING QUARTERBACKS, WE WILL ALWAYS HAVE DONE TOO LITTLE OR TOO MUCH, TOO SOON OR TOO LATE.

- AND TOO MANY AMERICANS WILL NEVER KNOW OF OR BELIEVE THE EXTRAORDINARY TALENT, INTEGRITY, DEDICATION AND FIDELITY TO THE CONSTITUTION AND THE LAW OF AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS.

BUT THERE ARE COMPENSATIONS.

- IN YOUR ROLE AS AN INTELLIGENCE OFFICER YOU PLAY A KEY ROLE IN PRESERVING AND PROTECTING THE NATION. INDEED, I BELIEVE THAT THE NATION IS AT PEACE IN SUBSTANTIAL MEASURE BECAUSE AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE IS UNCEASINGLY AT WAR.
- YOU ARE TRUSTED AS NO OTHERS ON EARTH WITH EXTRAORDINARY RESPONSIBILITY, FROM THOSE OF YOU WHO HOLD THE LIVES OF AGENTS AND OTHERS IN YOUR HANDS, THOSE WHO MANAGE MULTI-BILLION DOLLAR PROGRAMS AND SERVICES, TO THOSE WHO MUST TELL PRESIDENTS, MILITARY LEADERS AND CONGRESS UNPOPULAR THINGS OR UNWELCOME NEWS.
- YOU HAVE THE SPECIAL SATISFACTION AND INNER CONFIDENCE THAT FLOWS FROM EXERCISING INDEPENDENT JUDGMENT AND HAVING A UNIQUE BLEND OF THOUGHT AND ACTION.
- YOU HAVE THE CERTAIN KNOWLEDGE THAT WHAT YOU DO MAKES A DIFFERENCE.

-- YOUR INTEGRITY, DEDICATION, LOYALTY AND COMPETENCE ARE
REPAID MANY TIMES OVER WITH THE FRIENDSHIPS OF A
LIFETIME, PRIDE IN WHAT YOU DO, UNIQUE EXPERIENCES ALL
OVER THE WORLD, AND THE CERTAIN KNOWLEDGE AT THE END OF
YOUR CAREER THAT YOU HAVE SERVED YOUR COUNTRY WELL.

SHORTLY YOU WILL REENTER THE FRONT LINE OF THIS COUNTRY'S
DEFENSE. YOU WILL BE THE NATION'S EYES, ITS EARS, AT TIMES ITS
HIDDEN HAND, AND, IN TURBULENT TIMES, ALWAYS ITS COMPASS --
RELIABLY POINTING TO THE FUTURE WHILE INFORMED BY THE PAST.
YOU WHO TODAY GRADUATE FROM THIS COLLEGE, AND THE OFFICERS WHO
WILL FOLLOW YOU, REPRESENT THE STRONGEST AND MOST RELIABLE
ASSURANCE OF THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE AND ITS
CENTRAL ROLE IN PROTECTING THE NATION AND ITS WELL-BEING. I
CONGRATULATE YOU AND WISH YOU THE BEST. THANK YOU.